Attachment Trauma in Divorce: Recommendations for Judges, Lawyers and Child Custody Evaluators

Jim Husen

Ryokan College

Author Note

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Abstract

This paper explores the utility of the Adult Attachment Interview developed by George, Kaplan & Main (1984) in the context of child custody evaluations and how evaluators and the courts are currently so focused on the status quo as a way of minimizing short term stress and emotional upset for children in divorce that they are harming children in the long run in their evaluations and decisions. Divorce related attachment trauma is discussed. Recommendations are made for Family Law Judges, Lawyers, and Mental Health Professionals called upon to make decisions about child placement, custody and visitation in divorces.

Attachment Trauma in Divorce

Best Interest of the Child as Currently Construed by the Court

The *best interest of the child* governs decisions about custody and visitation in the Courts. Family Code § 3011 lists several factors the court "shall" consider in determining what custody arrangement would be in the best interest of the child. The relevant factor analyzed in this paper is found at subsection (c) of the statute which tells judges making custody orders to consider "The *nature* and *amount* of contact with both parents…."

A practice guide used in training judges to make these decisions, the California Judges' Benchguide for Custody and Visitation (2012), states in relevant part:

> The importance of ***stability and continuity in the child's life and the harm that may result from disrupting established patterns of care and emotional bonds is crucial to a best-interest determination***. *Adoption of Matthew B.* (1991) 232 CA3d 1239, 1264, 284 CR 18. When making a custody determination, the court must make an assessment of the emotional bonds between a parent and child, and must consider how best to provide continuity of attention, nurturing, and care of the child. ***The assessment requires an inquiry into the heart of the parent-child relationship***, that is, the ethical, emotional, and intellectual guidance that the parent gives to the child throughout his or her formative years. *Adoption of Matthew B., supra*. Therefore, the court must consider the length of time that the child has been in the continuous physical custody of a parent who has custody at the time of the custody hearing. When a child has lived with one parent for a significant period, the need for continuity and stability will often dictate that maintaining the current arrangement is in the child's best interest. *Burchard v Garay* (1986) 42 C3d 531, 538, 229 CR 800 (p. 200-33 § 200.41, emphasis added).

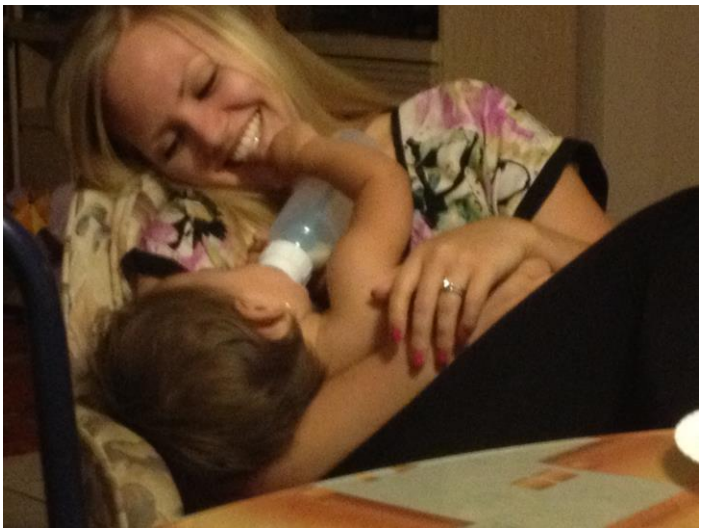
As a practicing Family Law Attorney for the last 12 going on 13 years, this writer has come to understand that what this language means, as a practical matter, to judges making orders in court, is, that the custody and visitation arrangement established during the marriage or relationship before coming to court will generally be adopted as the custody order with very little meaningful inquiry into *into the heart of the parent-child relationship*. In order words the *nature* of the relationship is ignored while the *amount* of contact is given undue weight.

Divorce trauma in children as the court conceives it has to do with disruption of established patterns of care from the child's perspective. However, this paper questions the wisdom of this practice without inquiring into the nature of the parent-child relationship. The real trauma for a child under 12 in divorce relates more to the parents' respective attachment styles toward the child in light of the divorce than to what house the child lives in or what school she attends.

By way of example, this writer, as an attorney, had a case a couple of years ago where the mother was sharing her deepest fears and anger about her future ex-husband with her 5-year-old daughter during the divorce. The 5-year-old girl began feeling outraged at her father's alleged wrongdoing against her mother, depressed for her mother's victimization and guilty. There was no doubt the mother and little girl had deep and established "emotional bonds" Adoption of Matthew B., *supra*. And that the *amount* of their contact was extensive; however, as will be seen in the next section, those bonds involved a role reversal which if continued would have harmed the child. Fortunately for this child, when a motion was brought before the court to change custody, it was discovered that mother was also engaging in physical abuse toward other children in the household and a change of custody occurred.

Neurodevelopmental Issues Pertaining to Custody and Visitation Orders

Schore (2008) points out that "[t]he essential task of the first year of human life is the creation of a secure attachment bond of emotional communication between the infant and the primary caregiver." Note the elements of secure attachment a child would feel in the following picture of a mother and her infant daughter gazing into one another's eyes:



The caretaker's attunement with the child at this early age gives the developing child a "preverbal matrix [which] forms the core of [his or her] incipient self." (Ibid.) Schore (2008) further points out that researchers increasingly accept the proposition that "the attachment system is indeed a major organizer of brain development". (Ibid, Citing Fonagy and Target (2005, p. 334) Main, Kaplan & Cassidy (1985) further state that parental sensitivity to the emotional and physical needs of the infant / child and accessibility to them is the key behavioral aspect underlying secure attachment. Likewise, parents who are insensitive to the child's needs or reject the child's attempts to gain and maintain proximity replicate their own insecure working model of attachment in their children whereby the child gets as close as she safely can to such parents but no closer.

Over the years working as an attorney in both the Family Law and Juvenile Dependency and Delinquency Courts, this writer has found attachment theory helpful in understanding children he's encountered whose disorganized personality accounts for their conduct when it comes to telling lies. In this writer's most recent case of this sort, a 12-year-old girl, whose mother was addicted to illegal drugs since the child was born and was in and out of foster care and the home of her grandparents, lost her mother to cancer at age 9. She then came to live with the grandparents once again and was very close to her grandmother who then died when the child was 11.

One year later, because her grandfather had taken her phone from her, she accused him of tying her to his bed and repeatedly raping her. She also alleged he would cut her clothes off with scissors in the kitchen. A full criminal investigation was conducted which demonstrated the allegations were entirely false and physically impossible. No handcuffs were found in the home, the only scissors found were the type that are used by school children when cutting construction paper and measurements of the bed and the child defied the laws of physics. This girl's internal structures of mind failed to develop as a result of chronic lack of attachment followed by two overwhelming attachment losses at age 9 and then again at age 11.

Early attachment experiences "may be regulated or dysregulated, imprinting either secure or insecure attachments" and creating potentially beneficial "adaptive flexibility" (Seigel, 2012, p. 168). Alternatively, these imprints may result in "pathogenic developmental … neurological pathway[s]" (Schore, 2008) which become engrained in the brain like the rails upon which the child's trains of thought run. Madigan, Atkinson, Laurin, and Benoit (2013) state "[t]here is consensus among developmentalists that pathways to internalizing disorders are multifactorial, but once established, internalizing symptoms [namely, clinical levels of depression and anxiety]

tend to be stable over time, placing the child at risk for various forms of adversity (Keiley, Bates, Dodge, & Pettit, 2000)."

"Said another way, within the parent–child attachment relationship children are believed to develop either adaptive or maladaptive emotion regulation strategies that serve, respectively, as either protective or risk factors for later psychopathology (Carlson, 1998)." (Groh, Roisman, van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg & Fearon, 2012) Thus, if the ***heart of the parent-child relationship*** is secure between the primary caregiver and child in question, disruption of this attachment would harm the child; however, not necessarily so if the ***heart of the parent-child relationship is insecure or disorganized***.

Many factors contribute to a child's successfully negotiating the developmental tasks of childhood and the unique challenges of divorce including "temperament, IQ, academic aptitude, genetic "predispositions," or other things … [including] poverty, stress, and chaotic life circumstances" (Sroufe, Egeland, Carlson, & Collins, 2005, p. 4) **However, the key factor the court has the power to influence involves the parent-child relationship when making custody and visitation orders**. In fact, the parent-child relationship is ***the*** key factor contributing to the child's healthy development and ability to function effectively and be happy as an adult.

As will be discussed in the next section, unresolved parental preoccupation with divorce related issues results in psychopathogenic forms of relating between parents and children which, depending on the age of the child, interferes with the child's age-related developmental tasks. Here, the writer is talking about Erikson's epigenetic psychosocial stages of childhood which are outlined in the following chart:

Stage	Ages	Adaptive v. Maladaptive Development	Basic Strength of Virtue Developed
Oral-sensory	Birth–1	Trust vs. mistrust	Hope
Muscular-anal	1–3	Autonomy vs. doubt, shame	Will
Locomotor-Genital	3–5	Initiative vs. Guilt	Purpose
Latency	6–11	Industriousness vs. Inferiority	Competence
Adolescence	12–18	Identity Cohesion vs. Role Confusion	Fidelity
Young Adulthood	18–35	Intimacy vs. Isolation	Love
Adulthood	35–55	Generativity vs. Stagnation	Care
Maturity—old age	55 + years	Ego integrity vs. Despair	Wisdom

Schultz & Schultz (2009, p. 212)

A Brief Overview of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI).

Main (1996) points out that her work in developing the AAI was built on that which was started by Sir John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. Bowlby theorized that the observed phenomenon whereby children seek to maintain proximity with their caretakers and then use their caretaker as a secure base for exploring the environment involved "an attachment behavioral system which regulates primate safety and survival." Ainsworth then developed the Strange Situation Procedure (SSP) which enabled her and other researchers to discover a limited number of specific patterns of attachment among children to their parents. Initially, there were three observed patterns and, very importantly, these patterns of attachment in children correspond to their primary caretaker's pattern of attachment to his or her primary caregiver.

The AAI itself involves evaluating the coherence of the examinee's answers to questions about his of her childhood and relationship with primary caretakers. The coherence or lack of coherence in the examinee's answers reveals the person's working model of attachment which Main, Kaplan & Cassidy (1985) describe as "a set of conscious and/or unconscious rules for organization of information relevant to attachment and for obtaining or limiting access to that information, that is, to information regarding attachment-related experiences, feelings and ideations." (pp. 65-66)

The following chart taken from Main (1996) outlines this proximity seeking / attachment behavior of the child on the right with the parents' own internal working model of attachment derived from their experience with their own primary caregiver on the left side of the chart:

Table 1
Brief Descriptions of Adult Attachment Interview Categories in Relation to Corresponding Infant Strange Situation Categories

Adult Attachment Interview	Infant Strange Situation Response
Secure–autonomous (F). Coherent, collaborative discourse is maintained during description and evaluation of attachment-related experiences, whether these experiences are described as favorable or unfavorable. Speaker seems to value attachment while being objective regarding any particular experience or relationship.	*Secure (B).* Shows signs of missing parent on first separation and cries during second separation. Greets parent actively; for example, creeping to parent at once, seeking to be held. After briefly maintaining contact with the parent, settles, and returns to play.
Dismissing (Ds). Normalizing, positive descriptions of parents ("excellent, very normal mother") are unsupported or contradicted by specific memories. Negative experiences said to have had no effect. Transcripts are short, often with insistence on lack of memory.	*Avoidant (A).* Does not cry on separation, attending to toys or environment throughout procedure. Actively avoids and ignores parent on reunion, moving away, turning away, or leaning away when picked up. Unemotional; expressions of anger are absent.
Preoccupied (E). Preoccupied with experiences, seeming angry, confused and passive, or fearful and overwhelmed. Some sentences grammatically entangled or filled with vague phrases ("dadadada"). Transcripts are long, some responses irrelevant.	*Resistant–ambivalent (C).* Preoccupied with parent throughout procedure, may seem actively angry, alternately seeking and resisting parent, or may be passive. Fails to return to settle or return to exploration on reunion and continues to focus on parent and cry.
Unresolved–disorganized (U-d). During discussions of loss or abuse, shows striking lapse (or lapses) in the monitoring of reasoning or discourse; for example, may speak of dead person as if still alive in the physical sense, fall silent, or use eulogistic speech. May otherwise fit well to Ds, F, or E.	*Disorganized–disoriented (D).* Disorganized or disoriented behaviors displayed in parent's presence; for example, may freeze with a trancelike expression, hands in air, rise and then fall prone at parent's entrance, or cling while leaning away. May otherwise fit well to A, B, or C.

Behrens, Hesse and Main (2007) report the "global distribution" as:

A (21%) [Avoidant on the SSP. Cf., D, Dismissing, on the AAI],

B (65%) [Secure on the SSP. Cf., F, Secure-Autonomous, on the AAI],

C (14%) [Resistant-Ambivalent on the SSP. Cf., E, Preoccupied, on the AAI]

van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg's (2009) report D (15%) [Disorganized-Disoriented on the SSP. Cf., U-d, Unresolved-Disorganized on the AAI].

Readers of the literature on the AAI will note that the letters A through D relate to observed child behavior in the SSP and letter E through F (and U-d) relate to discourse analysis of the primary caregiver's attachment style brought out in the AAI. For convenience, a copy of the AAI Protocol is attached hereto as Appendix A.

As mentioned above, identification of these parental attachment styles from their discourse during the AAI relies upon markers of incoherence, or, a lack of integration on the part of the parent when it comes to their current awareness of their own relationship to *their* parents and the present value they place on attachment relationships. In this regard, Grice's (1975) maxims of "coherent, collaborative discourse" heavily inform scoring of the AAI. "[A] parent's ability to maintain coherent, collaborative discourse while simultaneously responding to requests to describe and evaluate early attachment experiences [with his or her parents] is highly predictive of the infant's security, with specific violations being found predictive of specific categories of infant insecure attachment…." (Main, 1996)

The following lengthy quote from Steele and Steele (2008) describes the dynamics informing the test:

> The AAI questions include asking the individual to provide five adjectives to describe one's childhood relationship with both the mother and the father, and to elaborate upon these adjectives with specific memories; and to describe separations, illnesses, what happened when one was upset as a child, any loss or trauma, why one thinks the parents behaved as they did; and so on…. the AAI questions serve as an activation of the attachment system in the adolescent or adult respondent (see Dozier & Kobak, 1992) by

> taking the adult back, in his or her mind, to childhood and earlier life circumstances, when the attachment system was previously activated. Thus, **the AAI can be seen in this light as a test of the extent to which one can remain balanced and coherent when thinking about previously occurring attachment-related events or circumstances that were emotionally upsetting, while showing understanding and/or valuing of the persons and relationships concerned. One of the aims of the AAI is to "surprise the unconscious" (George et al., 1985) by posing in a calm but persistent way a series of questions that serve invariably to take the interviewee back to highly emotional events in early childhood that he or she will not ordinarily have discussed or reflected upon, and to which, in some cases, he or she may not even have conscious access**. (Steele & Steele, 2009, Kindle Locations 322-330)

As will be seen below, the beauty of this instrument in the forensic setting of custody and visitation evaluations is that it *surprises the unconscious* and thereby cuts through the defenses parents almost always put up when undergoing such evaluations.

Children Assume their Primary Caretaker's Pattern of Attachment.

"The AAI correlates of infant patterns of attachment are well established (Main et al., 1985; van IJzendoorn, 1995) and increasingly well known" (Steele & Steele, 2008, Kindle Locations 313-314). Main, Hesse & Goldwyn (2008) cite extensive replicated and even international research findings demonstrating "that **75% of secure-autonomous parents had secure infants**, a finding that also held when the interview was conducted prior to the birth of the first child (e.g., London: Fonagy, Steele, & Steele, 1991; Steele, Steele, & Fonagy, 1996; Toronto: Benoit & Parker, 1994; inner-city New York: Ward & Carlson, 1995)." (Kindle Locations: 721, p. 32) Cassibba, Sette, Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn's (2013)

meta-analysis of ten years of Italian research with 627 SSPs and 2,258 AAIs reports a **correspondence between AAI results and SSPs at 88%**. In other words the child's attachment pattern as demonstrated by the SSP corresponded with the parent's attachment pattern associated with his or her AAI, 88% of the time!

This empirically demonstrated correspondence of AAI for the primary caregiver and the SSP for the child has enormeous foresensic implications since the SSP cannot be replicated in the vast majority of evaluations; however, the AAI can be conducted with relative ease upon parents. Consider an evaluation this writer read yesterday by a Riverside psychologist which amounted to little more than a 30-page recounting by the psychologist of the parents cross-accusations against each other and their new significant others. Four computer graded Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2s (MMPI-2) were also listed in the report with two of the MMPI-2s being invalidated because the mother and her boyfriend were so guarded in their positive portrayal of themselves in answering the questions that they spoiled their tests.

Remarkably absent in this lengthy report was any information about the parents' family life or their relationships with their parents. However, in this particular case it was quite clear to this writer that the mother was quite intrusive upon the 13-year-old boy—she took pictures of herself masturbating in the boy's presence, the psychologist noted (based solely on his own judgment without factual justification), that the child was emotionally immature for his age, suffered psychogenic encopresis, and, that the mother had succeeded in "alienating" the child from the father. The psychologist's recommendations, in this writer's opinion, were nothing more than opinions without science or empirical basis. Such opinions even when couched as the product of "professional judgment" in reality amount to little more than the psychologist's

subjective beliefs about who was lying and who was telling the truth—something a polygraph could provide with greater reliability. In fact, professionals demonstrate "significantly lower than chance" abilities in detecting lies, especially when children are involved, because such professionals characteristically "apply invalid indices" of lying. (Ceci & Huffman, 1997)

Accordingly, the AAI in a battery of other relevant tests specifically tailored to relevant aspects of the particular case would yield a better, more useful report which would result in better decisions about custody. The case just mentioned emphasizes the futility of relying on MMPI-2s in custody evaluations. The computer generated statements about people having this profile have shown certain patterns of relating usually fails to address the issues really before the court and a high percentage of MMPI-2s are spoiled by overly-defensive or downright deceptive parents who nevertheless present themselves well in interviews.

Childhood Attachment Patterns Predict Adult Psychopathology.

van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 105 AAI studies to address the question of **whether specific attachment patterns are "associated with psychological disorders?**" The answer is a clear yes. Reviewing the following chart, the reader will be struck by the correlation between elevated numbers of clinical populations with unresolved / preoccupied attachment patterns as opposed to those in non-clinical samples.

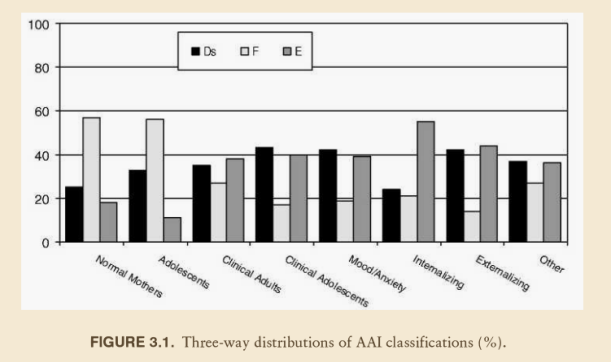


FIGURE 3.1. Three-way distributions of AAI classifications (%).

(Kindle Location, 1436)

This disproportionate representation in clinical populations relates to the main proposition advanced in this paper: preoccupied parents impart that preoccupation to their children in the form of disorganized attachment. A primary caretaker's parental preoccupation with divorce issues disorganizes a child's attachment and puts him or her at risk of developing adult psychopathology.

Preoccupied divorcing parents may have been primary caretakers, however, the **quality and nature** of the child's attachment is at stake. When the stresses of divorce result in floridly preoccupied conduct on the part of the primary caretaker, how does the child typically respond? Most often, especially with younger children, she or he will respond by taking up that parent's cause, whatever it may be. This is the safest strategy to maintain proximity to the parent for the child.

Thus, in the case cited above, what did the 5-year-old girl do with her mother's depression and emotional vomits? She took up the mother's cause and adopted a hate Dad strategy even to the point of lying for her mother which, for a while, landed this particular Dad in jail until the accusations were later proven false as the product of a child's lies in an effort to align with and maintain her Mother's favor.

Adoption Studies Support the Benefits Of Placement with a Secure Parent Over a / Preoccupied or Unresolved / Disorganized Parent.

Steele, Hodges, Kaniuk, Steele, Hillman and Asquith (2009) cite the work of Dozier, Stoval, Albus, and Bates (2001), *Attachment for Infants in Foster Care: The Role of Caregiver State of Mind* who conducted a two year study of fifty foster infant-dyads which resulted in a 72% correspondence of attachment at the end of the study. This study was particularly significant because it involved "'hard to place' children" who "endured repeated maltreatment,

neglect and emotional, often physical, and sometimes sexual abuse" and who wer "older" (4 to 8 years old). The issue in the study was "whether the state of mind of the adopters, both the mothers and the fathers, at time of placement may be shown to relate to the state of mind of the children 2 years after having been placed into the adoptive home." The answer to that question was a strong yes "the presence of one or more secure parents in the children's lives made insecure themes in the children's stories significantly less likely."

The hopeful conclusion is that placing even severely disturbed children with secure parents and foster parents works to improve the child's attachment patterns and hence their entire adaptive functioning to life in general.

Recommendations for Judges, Lawyers and Custody Evaluators

The important idea developed in this paper is this: divorce related childhood attachment trauma derives primarily from the child's connection to the traumatized parent which, by reason of the parent's preoccupation with divorce-related issues (and prior pre-morbid risk factors) renders him or her emotionally unavailable to the child. Related to this idea is the fact that children take on their caregiver's attachment style and some styles are psychopathogenic.

Failure in the courts to understand the child's attachment to the primary caregiver as the most significant factor in determining the child's adaptive flexibility to the divorce (and any other challenges of life) has resulted in custody decisions that perpetuate insecure and even preoccupied and disorganized parental patterns of attachment upon their children with the resultant high likelihood of an intergenerational transmission and development of subsequent adult psychopathology.

In this way the courts and evaluators have given undue weight to issues of temporal and environmental disruption (i.e. let's keep the kids in the house they grew up in) while ignoring the

statutory mandate to look to the "heart of the parent-child relationship" (Adoption of Matthew B. (1991) 232 CA3d 1239, 1264) when making custody and visitation decisions.

Some psychologists incorporate detailed histories of the parents' relationship with their families of origin into their custody evaluations. Others, like the one cited above, entirely fail to provide this vital information. Given the reliable correspondence of AAI attachment patterns in parents to SSP attachment patterns observed in their children and the link certain SSP patterns bear to subsequent adult psychopathology, it is rather surprising the AAI receives such little emphasis at this time in custody evaluations.

Perhaps this lack of such important information in the reports has to do with the training and education of the evaluators now providing these reports to the court. Most of these psychologists are in their sixties and seventies now and received their education and training before attachment theory came of age. This writer, for one, thinks it's time to welcome attachment research in this area of law. Doing so would promote the best interests of our children caught in high conflict divorce cases where psychologists are most likely to be called in to assist.

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Welfare & Institutions Code § 202(e)

Appendix A

This material is not a substitute for training in AAI administration procedure. It is provided because it is important for consumers of AAI research to have easy access to the interview questions. Without them, it is difficult to evaluate published research. Seeing the full interview protocol can also help consumers of AAI based research appreciate the level of interview information and detail underlying AAI scores. It can also help them make important decisions about the adequacy of procedures in various reports they may encounter.

The authors of the AAI make the scoring manual available only in conjunction with their training courses. Researchers interested in understanding more about the logic of scoring the AAI can however see the scoring manual for Crowell & Owens' Current Relationship Interview (CRI) which is available in full on this site. The logic and procedures for scoring the CRI closely parallel those for the AAI. The primary difference is that the AAI focuses on relationships to parents and the CRI on relationships to adult attachment figures. At present this is the only detailed source of insights into the criteria for scoring the AAI available to those who do not take the training course.

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EW

ADULT ATTACHMENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL
Mary B. Main

Introduction

I'm going to be interviewing you about your childhood experiences, and how those experiences may have affected your adult personality. So, I'd like to ask you about your early relationship with your family, and what you think about the way it might have affected you. We'll focus mainly on your childhood, but later we'll get on to your adolescence and then to what's going on right now. This interview often takes about an hour, but it could be anywhere between 45 minutes and an hour and a half.

1. Could you start by helping me get oriented to your early family situation, and where you lived and so on? If you could tell me where you were born, whether you moved around much, what your family did at various times for a living?

This question is used for orientation to the family constellation, and for warm-up purposes. The research participant must not be allowed to begin discussing the quality of relationships here, so the "atmosphere" set by the interviewer is that a brief list of "who, when" is being sought, and *no more than two or three minutes* at most should be used for this question. The atmosphere is one of briefly collecting demographics.
In the case of participants raised by several persons, and not necessarily raised by the biological or adoptive parents (frequent in high-risk samples), the opening question above may be *"Who would you say raised you?':* The interviewer will use this to help determine who should be considered the primary attachment figure (s) on whom the interview will focus.

> *Did you see much of your grandparents when you were little? If* participant indicates that grandparents died during his or her own lifetime, ask the participant's age at the time of each loss. If there were grandparents whom she or he never met, ask *whether this (these) grandparents) had died before she was born.* If yes, *continue as* follows: *Your mother's father died before you were born? How old was she at the time, do you know?* In a casual and *spontaneous way,* inviting only a very brief reply, the interviewer then asks, *Did she tell you much about this grandfather?*
>
> *Did you have brothers and sisters living in the house, or anybody besides your parents? Are they living nearby now or do they live elsewhere? -*

2. I'd like you to try to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child if you could start from as far back as you can remember?

Encourage participants to try to begin by remembering very early. Many say they cannot remember early childhood, but you should shape the questions such that they focus at first around age five or earlier, and gently remind the research participant from time to time that if possible, you would like her to think back to this age period. Admittedly, this is leaping right into it, and the participant may stumble. If necessary, indicate in some way that experiencing some difficulty in initially attempting to respond to this question is natural, but indicate by some silence that you would nonetheless like the participant to attempt a general description.

3. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your relationship with your mother starting from as far back as you can remember in early childhood--as early as you can go, but say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think for a minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me.

Not all participants will be able to think of five adjectives right away. Be sure to make the word *relationship* clear enough to be heard in this sentence. Some participants do use "relationship" adjectives to describe the parent, but some just describe the parent herself --e.g., "pretty"... "efficient manager"--as though they had only been asked to "pick adjectives to describe your mother". These individual differences are of interest only if the participant has heard the phrase, "that reflect your childhood *relationship"* with your mother. The word should be spoken clearly, but with only slight stress or emphasis.

Some participants will not know what you mean by the term *adjectives,* which is why we phrase the question as "adjectives or words". If the participant has further questions, you can explain, "just words or phrases that would describe or tell me about your relationship with your (mother) during childhood".

The probes provided below are intended to follow the entire set of adjectives, and *the interviewer must not begin to probe until the full set of adjectives has been given.* Be patient in waiting for the participant to arrive at five adjectives, and be encouraging. This task has proven very helpful both in starting an interview, and in later interview analysis. It helps some participants to continue to focus upon the relationship when otherwise they would not be able to come up with spontaneous comments.

If for some reason a subject does not understand what a memory is, you might suggest they think of it like an image they have in their mind similar to a videotape of something which happened when they were young. Make certain that the subject really does not understand the question first, however. The great majority who may seem not to understand it are simply unable to provide a memory or incident.

The participant's ability (or inability) to provide both an overview of the relationship and specific memories supporting that overview forms one of the most critical bases of interview analysis. For this reason it is important for the interviewer to press enough in the effort to obtain the five "overview" adjectives that if a full set is not provided, she or he is reasonably certain that they truly cannot be given.

The interviewer's manner should indicate that waiting as long as a minute is not unusual, and that trying to come up with these words can be difficult. Often, participants indicate by their non-verbal behavior that they are actively thinking through or refining their choices. In this case an interested silence is warranted. Don't, however, repeatedly leave the participant in embarrassing silences for very long periods. Some research participants may tell you that this is a hard job, and you can readily acknowledge this. If the participant has extreme difficulty coming up with more than one or two words or adjectives, after a period of two to three minutes of supported ttempts ("Mm... I know it can be hard ...this is a pretty tough question... Just take a little more time"), then say something like "Well, that's fine. Thank you, we'll just go with the ones you've already given me." The interviewer's tone here should make it clear that the participant's response is perfectly acceptable and not uncommon.

> *Okay, now let me go through some more questions about your description of your childhood relationship with your mother. You say your relationships with her was (you used the phrase) Are there any memories or incidents that come to mind with respect to (word)*

The same questions will be asked *separately* for *each* adjective in series. Having gone through the probes

which follow upon this question (below), the interviewer moves on to seek illustrations for each of the succeeding adjectives in turn:

> *You described your childhood relationship with your mother as (or, `your second adjective was", or "the second word you used was"). Can you think of a memory or an incident that would illustrate why you chose this word or adjective to describe the relationship?*

The interviewer continues, as naturally as possible, through each phrase or adjective chosen by the participant, until all five adjectives or phrases are covered. A specific supportive memory or expansion and illustration is requested for each of the adjectives, separately. In terms of time to answer, this is usually the longest question. Obviously, some adjectives chosen may be almost identical, e.g., "loving ... caring". Nonetheless, if they have been given to you as separate descriptors, you must treat each separately, and ask for memories for each.

While participants sometimes readily provide a well-elaborated incident for a particular word they have chosen, at other times they may fall silent; or "illustrate" one adjective with another ("loving ...um, because she was generous"); or describe what usually happened--i.e., offer a "scripted" memory--rather than describing specific incidents. There are a set series of responses available for these contingencies, and it is vital to memorize them.

If the participant is silent, the interviewer waits an appropriate length of time. If the participant indicates nonverbally that she or he is actively thinking , remembering or simply attempting to come up with a particularly telling illustration, the interviewer maintains an interested silence. If the silence continues and seems to indicate that the participant is feeling stumped, the interviewer says something like, "well, just take another minute and see if anything comes to mind". If following another waiting period the participant still cannot respond to the question, treat this in a casual, matter of fact manner and say "well, that's fine, let's take the next one, then". Most participants do come up with a response eventually, however, and the nature of the response then determines which of the follow-up probes are utilize

If the participant re-defines an adjective with a second adjective as, "Loving ---she was generous", the interviewer probes by repeating the original adjective (loving) rather than permitting the participant to lead them to use the second one (generous). In other words, the interviewer in this case will say, "Well, can you think of a specific memory that would illustrate how your relationship was loving?" The interviewer should be careful, however, not to be too explicit in their intention to lead the participant back to their original word usage. If the speaker continues to discuss "generous" after having been probed about loving once more, this violation of the discourse task is meaningful and must be allowed. As above, the nature of the participant's response determines which follow-up probes are utilized.

If a specific and well-elaborated incident is given, the participant has responded satisfactorily to the task, and the interviewer should indicate that she or he understands that. However, the interviewer should briefly show continuing interest by asking whether the participant can think of a second incident.

- If one specific but poorly elaborated incident is given, the interviewer probes for a second. Again, the interviewer does this in a manner emphasizing his or her own interest.

- If as a first response the participant gives a "scripted" or "general" memory, as "Loving. She always took us to the park and on picnics. She was really good on holidays" or "Loving. He taught me to ride a bike"--the interviewer says, "Well, that's a good general description, but I'm wondering if there was a particular time that happened, that made you think about it as loving?"

- If the participant does now offer a specific memory, briefly seek a second memory, as above. If another scripted memory is offered instead, or if the participant responds "I just think that was a loving thing to do", the interviewer should be accepting, and go on to the next adjective. Here as elsewhere the interviewer's behavior indicates that the participant's response is satisfactory.

4. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your childhood relationship with your father, again starting from as far back as you can remember in early childhood--as early as you can go, but again say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think again for a

minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me. (Interviewer repeats with probes as above).

5. Now I wonder if you could tell me, to which parent did you feel the closest, and why? Why isn't there this feeling with the other parent?

By the time you are through with the above set of questions, the answer to this one may be obvious, and you may want to remark on that ***("You've already discussed this*** a bit, but I'd like to ask about it briefly anyway..."). Furthermore, while the answer to this question may indeed be obvious for many participants, some--particularly those who describe both parents as loving--may be able to use it to reflect further on the difference in these two relationships.

6. When you were upset as a child, what would you do?

This is a critical question in the interview, and variations in the interpretation of this question are important. Consequently, the participant is first encouraged to think up her own interpretations of "upset", with the interviewer pausing quietly to indicate that the question is completed, and that an answer is requested.

Once the participant has completed her own interpretation of the question, giving a first answer, begin on the following probes. Be sure to get expansions of every answer. If the participant states, for example, "I withdrew", probe to understand what this research participant means by "withdrew". For example, you might say, "And what would you do when you withdrew?"

The interviewer now goes on to ask the specific follow-up questions below. These questions may appear similar, but they vary in critical ways, so the interviewer must make sure that the participant thinks through each question separately. This is done by placing vocal stress on the changing contexts (as we have indicated by underlining).

> *-----**When you were <u>Upset</u> emotionally when you were little, what would you do?*** (Wait for participant's reply). ***Can you think of a specific time that happened?***
>
> *-----**Can you remember what would happen when you were <u>Hurt</u>. physically?*** (Wait for participant's reply). ***Again, do any specific incidents (or, do any other incidents) come to mind?***
>
> *-----**Were you ever <u>Ill</u> when you were little?*** (Wait for participant's reply). Do ***you remember what would happen?***

When the participant describes going to a parent, see first what details they can give you spontaneously. Try to get a sense of how the parent or parents responded, and then when and if it seems appropriate you can briefly ask one or two clarifying questions.

Be sure to get expansions of every answer. Again, if the participant says "I withdrew", for example, probe to see what the participant means by this, i.e., what exactly she or he did, or how exactly they felt, and if they can elaborate on the topic.

If the participant has not spontaneously mentioned being held by the parent in response to any of the above questions, the interviewer can ask casually at the conclusion to the series, ***"I was just wondering, do you remember being held by either of your parents at any of these times--I mean, when you were upset, or hurt, or ill?"***

In earlier editions of these guidelines, we suggested that if the participant answers primarily in terms of responses by one of the parents, the interviewer should go through the above queries again with respect to the remaining parent. This can take a long time and distract from the recommended pacing of the interview. Consequently, it is no longer required.

> ***What is the first time you remember being separated from your parents?***

- - -How did you respond? Do you remember how your parents responded?

- - -Are there any other separations that stand out in your mind?

Here research participants often describe first going off to nursery school, or to primary school, or going camping.

In this context, participants sometimes spontaneously compare their own responses to those of other children. This provides important information regarding the participant's own overall attitude towards attachment, so be careful not to cut any such descriptions or comparisons short.

8. Did you ever feel rejected as a young child? Of course, looking back on it now, you may realize it wasn't really rejection, but what I'm trying to ask about here is whether you remember ever having felt rejected in childhood

-----How old were you when you first felt this way, and what did you do?

----Why do you think your parent did those things--do you think he/she realized he/she was rejecting you?

Interviewer may want to add a probe by refraining the question here, especially if no examples are forthcoming. The probe we suggest here is,

----Did you ever feel pushed away or ignored?"

Many participants tend to avoid this in terms of a positive answer.

----So, were you ever frightened or worried as a child?

Let the research participant respond "freely" to this question, defining the meaning for themselves. They may ask you what the question means, and if so, simply respond by saying "It's just a more general question". Do not probe heavily here. If the research participant has had traumatic experiences which they elect not to describe, or which they have difficulty remembering or thinking about, you should not insist upon hearing about them. They will have a second, brief opportunity to discuss such topics later.

9. Were your parents ever threatening with you in any way - maybe for discipline, or even jokingly?

-----Some people have told us for example that their parents would threaten to leave them or send them away from home.

-----(Note to researchers). In particular communities, some specific kind of punishment not generally considered fully abusive is common, such as "the silent treatment", or "shaming", etc. One question regarding this one selected specific form of punishment can be inserted here, as for example, *'Some people have told us that their parents would use the silent treatment---did this ever happen with your parents?':* The question should then be treated exactly as threatening to send away from home, i.e., the participant is free to answer and expand on the topic if she or he wishes, but there are no specific probes. The researcher should not ask about more than one such specific (community) form of punishment, since queries regarding more than one common type will lead the topic away from its more general intent (below).

Some people have memories of *threats or* of *some kind* of *behavior that was abusive.*

-----Did anything like this ever happen to you, or in your family?

-----How old were you at the time? Did it happen frequently?

-----Do you feel this experience affects you now as an adult?

-----Does it influence your approach to your own child?

-----Did you have any such experiences involving people outside your family?

If the participant indicates that something like this did happen outside the family, take the participant through the same probes *(age? frequency? affects you now as an adult? Influences your approach to your own child?).* Be careful with this question, however, as it is clinically sensitive, and by now you may have been asking the participant difficult questions for an extended period of time.

Many participants simply answer "no" to these questions. Some, however, describe abuse and may suffer some distress in the memory. When the participant is willing to discuss experiences of this kind, the interviewer must be ready to maintain a respectful silence, or to offer active sympathy, or to do whatever may be required to recognize and insofar as possible to help alleviate the distress arising with such memories.

If the interviewer suspects that abuse or other traumatic experiences occurred, it is important to attempt to ascertain the specific details of these events insofar as possible. In the coding and classification system which accompanies this interview, *distressing experiences cannot be scored for Unresolved /disorganized responses unless the researcher is able to establish that abuse (as opposed to just heavy spanking, or light hitting with a spoon that was not frightening) occurred.*

Where the nature of a potentially physically abusive (belting, whipping, or hitting) experience is ambiguous, then, the interviewer should try to establish the nature of the experience in a light, matter-of-fact manner, without excessive prodding. If, for example, the participant says "I got the belt" and stops, the interviewer asks, "And what did getting the belt mean?". After encouraging as much spontaneous expansion as possible, the interviewer may still need to ask, again in a matter-of-fact tone, how the participant responded or felt at the time. "Getting the belt" *in itself will* not qualify as abuse within the adult attachment scoring and classification systems, since in some households and communities this is a common, systematically but not harshly imposed experience. Being belted heavily enough to overwhelmingly frighten the child for her physical welfare at the time, being belted heavily enough to cause lingering pain, and/or being belted heavily enough to leave welts or bruises will qualify.

In the case of sexual abuse as opposed to battering, the interviewer will seldom need to press for details, and should be very careful to follow the participant's lead. Whereas on most occasions in which a participant describes themselves as sexually abused the interviewer and transcript judge will have little need to probe further, occasionally a remark is ambiguous enough to require at least mild elaboration. If, for example, the participant states `and I just thought he could be pretty sexually abusive', the interviewer will ideally follow-up with a query such as, ` well, could you tell me a little about what was happening to make you see him as sexually abusive?'. Should the participant reply that the parent repeatedly told off-color jokes in her company, or made untoward remarks about her attractiveness, the parent's behavior, though insensitive, will not qualify as sexually abusive within the accompanying coding system. Before seeking elaboration of any kind, however, the interviewer should endeavor to determine whether the participant seems comfortable in discussing the incident or incidents.

All querying regarding abuse incidents must be conducted in a matter-of-fact, professional manner. The interviewer must use good judgment in deciding whether to bring querying to a close if the participant is becoming uncomfortable. At the same time, the interviewer *must not avoid the topic or give the participant the impression that discussion of such experiences is unusual.* Interviewers sometimes involuntarily close the topic of abuse experiences and their effects, in part as a well-intentioned and protective response towards participants who in point of fact would have found the discussion welcome.

Participants who seem to be either thinking about or revealing abuse experiences for the first time-- "No, nothing ....no... well, 1, I haven't thought, remembered this for, oh, years, but ...maybe they used to... tie me.... "-- must be handled with special care, and should *not* be probed unless they clearly and actively seem to want to discuss the topic. If you sense that the participant has told you things they have not previously discussed or

remembered, special care must be taken at the end of the interview to ensure that the participant does not still suffer distress, and feels able to contact the interviewer or project director should feelings of distress arise in the future.

In such cases the participant's welfare must be placed above that of the researcher. While matter-of-fact, professional and tactful handling of abuse-related questions usually makes it possible to obtain sufficient information for scoring, the interviewer must be alert to indications of marked distress, and ready to tactfully abandon this line of questioning where necessary. Where the complete sequence of probes must be abandoned, the interviewer should move gracefully and smoothly to the next question, as though the participant had in fact answered fully.

10. In general, how do you think your overall experiences with your parents have affected your adult personality?

The interviewer should pause to indicate she or he expects the participant to be thoughtful regarding this question, and is aware that answering may require some time.

> ***Are there any aspects to your early experiences that you feel were a set-back in your development?***

In some cases, the participant will already have discussed this question. Indicate, as usual, that you would just like some verbal response again anyway, "for the record".

It is quite important to know whether or not a participant sees their experiences as having had a negative effect on them, so the interviewer will follow-up with one of the two probes provided directly below. The interviewer must stay alert to the participant's exact response to the question, since the phrasing of the probe differs according to the participant's original response.

If the participant has named one or two setbacks, the follow-up probe used is:

> ***---Are there any other aspects of your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?***
>
> If the participant has understood the question, but has not considered anything about early experiences a setback, the follow-up probe used is:
>
> ***---Is there anything about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?***

Although the word ***anything*** receives some vocal stress, the interviewer must be careful not to seem to be expressing impatience with the participant's previous answer. The stress simply implies that the participant is being given another chance to think of something else she or he might have forgotten a moment ago.

> RE: PARTICIPANTS WHO DON'T SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THE TERM, SETBACK. A few participants aren't familiar with the term, ***setback.*** If after a considerable wait for the participant to reflect, the participant seems simply puzzled by the question, the interviewer says,
>
> *"Well, not everybody uses terms like* ***setback*** *for what I mean here. I mean, was there anything about your early experiences, or any parts* of *your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?"*
>
> In this case, this becomes the main question, and the probe becomes
>
> *----Is there anything else about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?*

11. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did during your childhood?

This question is relevant even if the participant feels childhood experiences were entirely positive. For participants reporting negative experiences, this question is particularly important.

12. Were there any other adults with whom you were close, like parents, as a child?

--- *Or any other adults who were especially important to you, even though not parental?*

Give the participant time to reflect on this question. This is the point at which some participants will mention housekeepers, au pairs, or nannies, and some will mention other family members, teachers, or neighbors. Be sure to find out ages at which these persons were close with the participant, whether they had lived with the family, and whether they had had any caregiving responsibilities. In general, attempt to determine the significance and nature of the relationship.

13. Did you experience the loss of a parent or other close loved one while you were a young child--for example, a sibling, or a close family member?

(A few participants understand the term "loss" to cover brief or long-term separations from living persons, as, "I lost my mom when she moved South to stay with her mother". If necessary, clarify that you are referring to death only, i.e. specifically to loved ones who had died).

-----*Could you tell me about the circumstances, and how old you were at the time?*

-----*How did you respond at the time?*

-----*Was this death sudden or was it expected?*

-----*Can you recall your feelings at that time?*

-----*Have your feelings regarding this death changed much over time?*

If not volunteered earlier. *Did you attend the funeral, and what was this like for you?*
If loss of a parent or *sibling. What would you say was the effect on your (other parent) and on your household, and how did this change over the years?*

-----*Would you say this loss has had an effect on your adult personality?*

-----Where relevant *How does it affect your approach to your own child?*

13a. Did you lose any other important persons during your childhood?

(Same queries--again, this refers to people who have died rather than separation experiences).

13b. Have you lost other close persons, in adult years? (Same queries).

Be sure that the response to these questions covers loss of any siblings, whether older or younger, loss of grandparents, and loss of any person who seemed a "substitute parent" or who lived with the family for a time. Some individuals will have been deeply affected by.

Probe any loss which seems important to the participant, including loss of friends, distant relatives, and neighbors or neighbor's children. Rarely, the research participant will seem distressed by the death of someone who they did not personally know (often, a person in the family, but sometimes someone as removed as the friend of a friend).

If a participant brings up the suicide of a friend of a friend and seems distressed by it, the loss ***should be fully*** probed. The interviewer should be aware, then, that speakers may be assigned to the unresolved/disorganized adult attachment classification as readily for lapses in monitoring occurring during the discussion of the death of a neighbor's child *experienced during the adult* years as for loss of a parent in childhood.

Interviewing research participants regarding loss obviously requires good clinical judgment. At maximum, only four to five losses are usually fully probed. In the case of older research participants or those with traumatic histories, there may be many losses, and the interviewer will have to decide on the spot which losses to probe. No hard and fast rules can be laid out for determining which losses to skip, and the interviewer must to the best of his or her ability determine which losses--if there are many--are in fact of personal significance to the participant. Roughly, in the case of a participant who has lost both parents, spouse, and many other friends and relatives by the time of the interview, the interviewer might elect to probe the loss of the parents, the spouse, and "any other loss which you feel may have been especially important to you". If, however, these queries seem to be becoming wearying or distressing for the participant, the interviewer should acknowledge the excessive length of the querying, and offer to cut it short.

14. ***Other than any difficult experiences you've already described, have you had any other experiences which you should regard as potentially traumatic?***

Let the participant free-associate to this question, then clarify if necessary with a phrase such as, ***I mean, any experience which was overwhelmingly and immediately terrifying.***

This question is a recent addition to the interview. It permits participants to bring up experiences which may otherwise be missed, such as scenes of violence which they have observed, war experiences, violent separation, or rape.

Some researchers may elect not to use this question, since it is new to the 1996 protocol. If you do elect to use it, it must of course be used with all subjects in a given study.

The advantage of adding this question is that it may reveal lapses in reasoning or discourse specific to traumatic experiences other than loss or abuse.

Be very careful, however, not to permit this question to open up the interview to all stressful, sad, lonely or upsetting experiences which may have occurred in the subject's lifetime, or the purpose of the interview and of the question may be diverted. It will help if your tone indicates that these are rare experiences.

Follow up on such experiences with probes only where the participant seems at relative ease in discussing the event, and/or seems clearly to have discussed and thought about it before.

Answers to this question will be varied. Consequently, exact follow-up probes cannot be given in advance, although the probes succeeding the abuse and loss questions may serve as a partial guide. In general, the same cautions should be taken with respect to this question as with respect to queries regarding frightening or worrisome incidents in childhood, and experiences of physical or sexual abuse. Many researchers may elect to treat this question lightly, since the interview is coming to a close and it is not desirable to leave the participant reviewing too many difficult experiences just prior to leave taking.

15. Now 1'd like to ask you a few more questions about your relationship with your parents. Were there many changes in your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) after childhood? We'll get to the present in a moment, but right now 1 mean changes occurring roughly between your childhood and your adulthood?

Here we are in part trying to find out, *indirectly* (1) whether there has been a period of rebellion from the parents, and (2) also indirectly, whether the participant may have rethought early unfortunate relationships and "forgiven" the parents. Do not ask anything about forgiveness directly, however--this will need to come up spontaneously. This question also gives the participant the chance to describe any changes in the parents' behavior, favorable or unfavorable, which occurred at that time.

16. Now I'd like to ask you, what is your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) like for you now as an adult? Here I am asking about your current relationship.

----Do you have much contact with your parents at present?

----What would you say the relationship with your parents is like currently?

---Could you tell me about any (or any other) sources of dissatisfaction in your current relationship with your parents? Any special (or any other) sources of special satisfaction?

This has become a critical question within the Adult Attachment Interview, since a few participants who had taken a positive stance towards their parents earlier suddenly take a negative stance when asked to describe current relationships. As always, the interviewer should express a genuine interest in the participant's response to this question, with sufficient pause to indicate that a reflective response is welcome.

17. I'd like to move now to a different sort of question--it's not about your relationship with your parents, instead it's about an aspect of your current relationship with (specific child of special interest to the researcher, or all the participant's children considered together). How do you respond now, in terms of feelings, when you separate from your child / children*?* (For adolescents or individuals without children, see below).

Ask this question exactly as it is, without elaboration, and be sure to give the participant enough time to respond. Participants may respond in terms of leaving child at school, leaving child for vacations, etc., and this is encouraged. What we want here are the participant's feelings about the separation. This question has been very helpful in interview analysis, for two reasons. In some cases it highlights a kind of role-reversal between parents and child, i.e., the participant may in fact respond as though it were the child who was leaving the parent alone, as though the parent was the child. In other cases, the research participant may speak of a fear of loss of the child, or a fear of death in general. When you are certain you have given enough time (or repeated or clarified the question enough) for the participant's naturally-occurring response, then (and only then) add the following probe:

-----Do you ever feel worried about (child)?

For individuals without children, you will pose this question as a hypothetical one, and continue through the remaining questions in the same manner. For example, you can say, "*now I'd like you to imagine that you have a one-year-old child, and I wonder how you think you might respond, in terms of feelings, if you had to separate from this child? Do you think you would ever feel worried about this child?".*

18. If you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your child I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one.

This question is primarily intended to help the participant begin to look to the future, and to lift any negative mood which previous questions may have imposed.

For individuals without children, you again pose this question in hypothetical terms. For example, you can say, *"Now I'd like you to continue to imagine that you have a one-year-old child for just another minute. This time, I'd like to ask, if you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your imagined child. I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one."*

19. Is there any particular thing which you feel you learned above all from your own childhood experiences? I'm thinking here of something you feel you might have gained from the kind of childhood you had.

Give the participant plenty of time to respond to this question. Like the previous and succeeding questions, it is intended to help integrate whatever untoward events or feelings he or she has experienced or remembered within this interview, and to bring the interview down to a light close.

20. We've been focusing a lot on the past in this interview, but I'd like to end up looking quite a ways into the future. We've just talked about what you think you may have learned from your own childhood experiences. 1'd like to end by asking you what would you hope your child (or, your imagined child) might have learned from his/her experiences of being parented by you?

The interviewer now begins helping the participant to turn his or her attention to other topics and tasks. Participants are given a contact number for the interviewer and/or project director, and encouraged to feel free to call if they have any questions.

(Retrieved from http://www.psychology.sunysb.edu/attachment/measures/content/aai_interview.pdf)